[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.] glaring one, into which zeal without knowledge

is always wont to betray its votaries—it has been asserted in this debate, that it is the duty of this asserted in this debate, that it is the duty of this Government to protect property is slaves wherever its flag floats, and it has paramount jurisdiction. Many errors of opinion, upon law as well as morals, not unfrequently spring from the imperfection of language and the improper use of words without a fixed and determinate meaning. In fact, it has long been cause of complaint among ingenious and thoughtful men, that our language, rude and imperfect at best, and mostly conversant about material and sensible objects, was wholly inadequate to express the refined diswas wholly inadequate to express the refined disinctions of moral and speculative philosophy, as the rudest tools are unfit and unsuitable to the refined and delicate purposes and operations of the watch-maker and the surgeon. And this, I apprehend, is the reason why so many errors have been committed by distinguished gentlemen in the course of this discussion. They unquestionably result, not from inadequate or confused ideas in their own minds, but from the imperfection o the medium through which they are obliged, for the want of a better, to communicate their thoughts to us. Now, to ordinary capacities, to com minds, unclouded by abstractions, and capable of using common language in its usual and ordinary acceptation, there can be no doubt that the juris-diction or authority of the General Government is paramount within the States. That is, that its jurisdiction is superior to that of any other. The language of the Constitution on this point is plain, and will admit of no controversy. It declares that a this Constitution, and the laws of the Content. States which shall be made in pursuance thereof,

der the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary noiwithstanding." Concede the startling proposition maintained by these gentlemen, and the banner of African slavery could be made to float over the soil of every free State in this Union, entirely overriding the local or State laws prohibiting it, and the General Government sucsafully invoked to defend and maintain it. Such is the inevitable conclusion to which we are con-ducted by this absurd and preposterous doctrine. The municipal regulations of the slave States, like those of the free States, are powerless beyond their own jurisdiction. They are without any authority or consideration whatever in the other States, or in the Territories belonging to the United States, except what is imposed by the Consti-tution, or is exacted by the comity which modern Christian civilization requires should always ex-ist between conterminous and independent States. The peculiarities in the legislation or laws of one State, or any given number of States, can no more be transplanted into the Territories of the United States as a right attendant upon the persons of

within their own jurisdiction; and no one State has, in this respect, any superiority, whatever its laws or local institutions may be, over another Congress has the paramount and exclusive right if it exists anywhere, of which no sane man, a this time of day, can justly entertain a doubt, to legislate for the Territories, and no State can in-terfere with or control its exercise. I shall not stop to discuss the question, sometimes mooted whence the right springs which has been so frequently exercised for the last half century.

It is sufficient for my purpose to know that the General Government has acquired territory in a variety of ways-by treaty, by acts of legislation and by conquest and purchase; and whether the right to govern it, after the acquisition is made is to be referred to the war-making power, or the treaty-making power, or arises from some other grant of power in the Constitution, is perfectly material; it exists as an incident to the exercise of the power to acquire territory, if in no other way. It is expressly provided in the Constitution, that Congress may make "all needful rules and regulations for the government of the Territories." and of course, no other sovereignty has any control over them while they remain sub ject to the jurisdiction of Congress. Some of the States composing this Union prohibit slavery, while others tolerate it, and the rights of the re-spective States, and the citizens of each, are equal. No one may claim a superiority over the other; they all possess alike the attributes of a qualified the United States h citizen of a Southern State, which tolerates the institution of slavery, to carry with him the local laws of his own State. These laws being contradictory and inconsistent with each other, could not exist together in the same community, and hence the absurdity of the right claimed by some Southern gentlemen to carry slaves into the Territories and hold them in bondage, merely because they are permitted to do so by the laws of some of the States. When emigrants pass from the jurisdiction of their respective States into the Cerritories, they leave behind them the laws of their former domicil, as they do the judicial tribunals, and the executive officers whose duty it is to enforce them. They pass under a new juristhe power to enforce them, independently of the States whence they came. The citizens of the different States and of other countries meet in the Territories upon terms of perfect equality, neither having the right to bring with him the institutions of the State or sovereignty whence he emigrated, or to claim, as a right, their protec-tion or adoption within the new jurisdiction. A contrary doctrine would lead, in practice, to endless conflicts and interminable difficulties. Standing upon free soil, the common property of the United States, and confiding in its protection, the rights of all would be equally respected. The protecting agis of the Constitution would be over all alike, for it has expressly provided "that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges of the citizens of the several States" s provision which must be entirely abrogated before the new doctrine can obtain. Its transparent fallacy is so obvious and so plain, that an apology is due for the time spent in exposing it. The sr-gument in support of it, even in the hands of its eminent advocates, fails to become respectable, and scarcely rises to the dignity of shallow sophistry.

The relation of master and slave is said to be

one of long standing—it is a patriarchal institu-tion; and we have listened to elaborate declamation; and we have inserted to classify and tion upon the origin and antiquity of slavery, and its advocates have sought to deduce an argument from that source, to justify extending over it the protecting care of the General Government, and ntroducing it into the Territories of the United States. It has existed, we are assured from the earliest times; its venerable and shadowy form may be seen in the twilight of history; and surely some respect is due to its great age, if on no other It has always been abused and vilified by its enemies, till its name has acquired an offensive odor, and is about to be driven in disgrace from its former haunts and its ancient home. What more worthy the fame of a great, a gallant, and a free people, than to extend the rights of hospitality to the venerable outcast, and give it a resting-place and a permanent home under our glorious stripes and stars, where it can renew its failing strength, enlarge its withered dimensions, and again put on the vigor of its youth and its manhood! Its enemies should be prosecuted for their numerous libels, and be hushed to silence, and its name be rescued from the unjust odium which has rendered it hateful and ignominious.

This, sir, is substantially the duty which we are required to perform; and if we hesitate, or falter, or fail to obey, this glorious fabric of free government, reared by the skill and the toil, and cemented by the blood of patriots, who preferred death to slavery, is to be demolished, and this Union to be discovery. Union to be dissolved. We are left free, of course, to make our election; but it is a kind of freedom, after all, not very unlike that which the traveller enjoys, with the highwayman's pistol at his breast. ff there is anything in the origin and antiquity of slavery, or in the history of human bondage in any of its forms, to commend it to favorable regard. I have not been so fortunate as to discover it. The record has wholly failed to exhibit it,

and it is too late now to supply the omission.

It has been repeatedly stated, in this debate, that you could not point to any act of the law-making power, creating the relation of master and slave, and establishing the institution of slavery. This is true—you cannot. But the conclusion does not follow that there is a common law of slavery as well as of freedom. Slavery is not the offspring of legislative enactments, nor the creature of the law-making power; but it is one of the bitter fruits of war, violence, and piracy, that have marked the character and deformed the history of wicked and corrupt men in all ages of the world. Wars of various kinds have been common between different nations: formerly they were much more sanguinary and ferocious, and attended with much greater atrocities than at present. And when carried on by a few against all the rest of mankind, they became piracy. victor used to claim the right—such were the rules of ancient warfare—to dispose of his prisoners taken in battle, in such manner as he might think proper; and sometimes he would exercise a disguised humanity, if he could make profit by it, and instead of taking their lives at once, as he had the power to do, he would consign them to perpetual bondage. I do not agree with Justinperpetual bondage. I do not agree with Justia-ian, that this imparts to slavery a rightful origin, or purifies it from the character which it inherits from such a parentage. By no means. It was at best a substitute for homicide. I only state the

fact that such is the origin of the institution. The legislator thus finding the relation of master and slave, springing from such a source, in exist-ence, steps in, and not being able to restore him to his natural rights, of which he had been robbed by the superior power of his master, endeavors to regulate and restrain his conduct, and miti-gate, so far as may be, the evils of the enslaved, by prescribing rules for the government of the new relation. Hence it will be seen that the legislative power does not create, it only regulates the relation between master and slave. For with-out municipal regulations by which the State lends the weight and force of its strong arm to the master, to aid him in holding his slave in subjection and bondage, his power over the slave would exist no longer than his own superior physcal strength would enable him to maintain it. The relation between them would be that of perpetual war, and the only principle that would govern it would, of course, be that by which might makes right. And this, in fact, is the natural, primitive, and legitimate relation between master and slave; and it would always of necessity continue, but for the base prostitution of the supreme power of the State, to assist the stronger in crushing the weaker party. And I may here observe, you can find no law establishing any other system of despotism, of outrage and vioabound. These things do not depend upon legislation; they happen in spite of it, and wholly independent of its authority. From the day that Cain went out and slew his brother Abel, up to tury, the South has managed during the greater tury, the South has managed during the greater tury, the Newton has been said, what has been said.

the evils flowing from them. It tends rather to aggravate than to diminish them. Repeal the laws regulating the relation of master and slave in the slaveholding States, and there is an end of slavery, unless by superior force you can hold them in servitude. Your title to them as property, your right to their services and to buy and sell them, all depend on the local or State laws, that have no force or efficacy beyond the limits of the respective States. Natural law tolerates no such rights, and recognises no such distinctions; wherever they exist, they arise from municipal regulations. At common law there is no such thing as a slave, and as early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth it was said the air of England was too pure for a slave to breathe in. It is true the Court of Commen Pleas, in the 5th of William and Mary, decided that a man might of William and Mary, decided that a use might have property in a negro boy, because negroes are heathens—a kind of reasoning that failed to be satisfactory; for the same court, in 9th of Will-iam and the 5th of Anne, overruled the decision, and declared that no man can have property in another while in England.

And I might here refer to the celebrated case
2 mes Somersett, decided at a later period, in
72, by Lord Mansfield, in which the absurd those who may choose to emigrate thitner, than those of all the other States.

The rights of all the States in this particular, are perfectly right, and they are anderendents, and the true principle vindicated which has since and the true principle vindicated, which has since been invariably followed by the Courts of West minster Hall. And in 1824, the Court of King's Bench denounced the law of slavery as an anti-christian law, and one which violates the rights of nature, and therefore ought not to be recognised here, and declares "slavery is a local law and therefore if a man wishes to preserve his slaves, let him attach them to him by affection, or make fast the bars of their prison, or rivet well their chains, for the instant they get beyond the limits where slavery is recognised by the local law, they have broken their chains, they have escaped from their prison, and are free."

The Supreme Court of the United States, in 1842, resolved that, "by the general law of nations, no nation is bound to recognise the state of slavery as to foreign slaves found within its territorial dominions, when it is in opposition to its own policy and institutions, in favor of the subjects of other nations where slavery is recognised. If it does, it is as a matter of comity, and not as a matter of international right. The state of slavery is deemed to be a mere municipal regulation, founded upon and limited to the range of the territorial laws." I have deemed it proper to fortify the positions which I have sought to maintain, by the highest judicial authority, and I have great confidence that it will be satisfactory to all candid minds.

The indirect recognition of slavery, as a State they all possess alike the attributes of a qualified sover ignty. A citizen of a Northern State, in States, has turned out to be a great and, I fear, a which slavery and involuntary servitude are for-ever interdicted, emigrating to the Territories of opposition, with the understanding that it would edged evils would be of short duration. The foreign slave trade was to cease in a few years, and the supply from abroad be cut off, and all the and the supply from abroad be cut off, and all the Territories were carefully protected from its inroads. But, since that time, it has increased to 
such an extent, that nine slave States have been 
added to the Union, and five of them formed out of territory obtained from foreign nations. The institution has always been a fruitful source of agitation and unkind feeling in this country. And so long as the passions and prejudices of men, to which it ministers, continue unchanged, it will forever remain so. The just expectations of the framers of the Constitution have been defeated by the predominance of Southern counsels in the administration of the Government. More than three hundred and fifty thousand square miles of slave territory have been sequired and peopled with slaves since the Constitution was adopted, and still larger domains are required to satisfy the demands of the South. Slavery existed in the Colonies before the Revolution. It was first introduced into Virginia at an early day, and finally extended into the other Colonies. At every stage of its progress, it met with a firm and vigorous opposition. But the power of the British Government, influenced by considerations of mercantile and individual interests, triumphed nal traffic," said Colonel Mason of Virginia, in the Convention that formed the Constitution, "originated in the avarice of British merchants. The British Government constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to it. The present question concerns not the importing States alone, but the whole Union. The evil of having slaves was experienced during the late war. Had slaves been treated as they might have been by the enemy, they would have proved dan-gerous instruments in their hands." Slavery was no favorite with the revolutionary patriots. In public meetings, in legislative bodies—every-where and on all occasions—its existence was dep-recated as an unmitigated evil.

Every page of our history before the Revolution, fragrant as it is with the love of liberty and devotion to human rights, is filled with convincing proofs of the abhorrence with which it was viewed by the colonists. From the close of that strugstant warfare was carried on against it, and the leading minds of the South and North harmonized in opposition to the institution. And so true is this, that Southern denunciations against slavery have supplied the vocabulary of modern anti-slavery men with their choicest epithets, and they have needed and scarcely sought any more effective and terrific bolts to hurl against the institution than those forged by Southern

of 1787, said he thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea that there could be property in man. And in the same year, on the occasion of the memorable trial of Warren Hastings, before the Peers of Great Britain, Mr. Sheridan, the eminent statesman and orator, declared that allegiance to that Power which gives us the forms of men commands us to maintain the rights of men. And never yet was this truth dismissed from the human heart; never, in any time, in any agenever in any clime where rude man ever any social feelings-never was this inextin-guishable truth destroyed from the heart of man, placed as it is in the core and centre of it by his Maker, that man was not made the property

The language of Lord Brougham, one of the most distinguished statesmen of the age, is still more emphatic on the subject of slavery: "Tell me not of rights," (said he.) "talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves. I deny the right. I acknowledge not the property. The principles, the feelings of our common nature, rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or to the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it. There is a law above all human enactments, written by the finger of God on the heart of man-and by that law, eternal and unchangeable, while men despise fraud and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject with indignation the wild and guilty phantasy, that

man can hold property in man." Sir, the anti-slavery feeling of the country was deep and strong, and was manifested on all proper occasions — in the revolutionary Congress of 1774-in the Congress of the Confederation of 1786, that adopted the glorious Ordinance of freedom for the Northwestern Territory; and its bright and luminous track may be discerned in bright and luminous track may be discerned in every page of the early history and in the legis-lative records of the country. But in process of time a change came over the South on the subject of slavery. That section had secured important political advantages under the Constitution; it was allowed the benefit of the rotten-borough system—a representation in the National Legis-lature without lature without a constituency. Not contented with present advantages, her statesmen sought for

This change happened soon after the Government was organized under the Constitution. Their purpose has been pursued steadily and without deviation or faltering, with the view to attain their cherished object. One slave State after another has been formed and admitted into the Union; and at this moment the slave States equal in number the free States, and with a population less than one-third, they have an equal representation in the Senate of the United States; and this is not all. Their thirst for political power, which seems to be their besetting states; and this is hot all. Her thirst for po-litical power, which seems to be their besetting sis, and the great object of their ambition and pursuit, has been gratified to the fullest extent. They have had the President for fifty years out of the sixty, since the Government was organized, and of the nineteen Secretaries of State, four-ter have been slaveholders; and the other Cabinet officers in about the same proportion. A majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court has always been slaveholders; and out of twenty Speakers of this House, the South has had twelve, and the North only eight. The foreign missions have also been filled by a majority of Southern men, and to-day there is a much larger number of fficial functionaries in the different bureaus f the Departments from the slaveholding, than from the free States. Sir, I do not mention these face by way of complaint, but to repel accusations, and to show how generous the majority has been to the minority—how kindly the North has treated the South. It is a matter of boast, by a disinguished member of this House, [Mr. Meade.]

character of the wrongs perpetrated, nor mitigate of officials. They find faunt, not so much with the evils flowing from them. It tends rather to what has been done, so with what has been said, ter; and opinions are more offensive to them than actions. And they declare war against the former, in advance of the effects which they fancy may hereafter flow from them. Some gentlemen have ventured to talk in this debate of Northern aggressions upon Southern rights, as if it was a reality instead of a mere phantom of the imagi-nation. And among the most prominent offences complained of, we find the differences of opinion between the North and South on the question of slavery. This is, politically, the unpardonable sin, and the safety of the institution demands its rigorous punishment.
But, sir, it is a perversion of language to charge

Northern men with committing aggressions upon the South because they happen to differ from them

upon the propriety of continuing and extending human elavery. It is not even a just ground of complaint. The free and manly expression of opinion is no cause of offence to those who may disagree with you, and it is no act of hostility in any proper sense of the word. If it be otherwise, then has the language of Magna Charta, of the Bill of Rights, of the Declaration of Independ-ence, and the Constitution of the United States, become justly offensive; and instead of deserving the historical renewa which the jadgment of mankind has awarded to them, they are nothing more than a declaration of war against all the world who do not subscribe to the theory of human rights which they announce; and the authors of them, whose names have become famous among the nations of the earth, are no better than pirates and outlaws. To such extremities, Mr. Chairman, are the advocates of slavery driven in their unavailing exertions to shield the institution from the inevitable doom that awaits it. In no correct sense of the word has the North ever committed any aggressions upon the South. The citizens of the free States love not only theoretical, but prac-tical liberty, and wherever slavery exists they desire its extinction. But I maintain, Mr. Chairman that it is the South that has committed aggressions, and not the North; and in committing ag-gressions it is obvious to remark, slavery only follows its instincts and obeys the laws of its nature. And for this opinion we have authority, if any were needed beyond the reflections and observation of every one, that Southern men will not re-pudiate or attempt to deny. That slavery also debauches the minds and deteriorates the morals of men, will appear evident from the same authority. Colonel Mason, of Virginia, in the Consti-tutional Convention, when the subject of slavery was under discussion, said: "Slavery discourages arts and manufactures. The poor despise labor when performed by slaves. They prevent the causes and effects, Providence punishes national sins by national calamities; and Jefferson, the great aposite of Democracy, whose tenchings it must be admitted, like some of those who profess to be his followers, were sadly at fault with his practice, has described the relation as a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions—the most unre-

mitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other."

It is not surprising that the minds of men living under the influence of such an institution should become perverted without being con-scious of it, and their moral sense blunted and rendered incapable of performing its appropriate functions. Why, sir, you claim the right to en-slave the African race because Africans are hea-thens; that, I believe, is the argument advanced in the Mississippi address, if that elaborate but stilt-ed and inflated production is susceptible of any definite meaning; but, as legislators, I understand you to repudiate the obligations and refuse to per-form the duties which Christian ethics impose on you in prescribing rules of conduct for your fellow men. You claim the rights but refuse to perform the duties of Christians. With the moral bearings of a question, it has been said, you have bearings of a question, it has been supported and nothing to do in your legislative capacity; and this no doubt furnishes the explanation why we that will be brought together from all parts of the South. But, as individuals, we may enter-the south. seeks to obliterate at once the distinction between right and wrong in human actions-a distinction which is not dependent upon legislative enactments, but exists anterior to them.

Sir, we have heard much said in our time, in the political discussions of the day, about a mon-eyed aristocracy and bank influence in national affairs. Southern gentlemen were not backward in sounding the alarm. I heard the notes, listenin sounding the alarm. I heard the notes, listened to the discussion with attention, and I hope not without profit, and the recollection of it has not faded from my memory. I am suspicious of associated wealth, especially when enlisted, as it too often is, in opposition to popular rights. And I hold it to be the dictate of prudence to watch, with a sleepless vigilance and a jealous eye, the operations of men wielding large amounts of capital when in pursuit of political objects. They are not always over scrupulous in regard to the means which they employ to accomplish the desired end. For this reason I am jealous of the institution of slavery, and of the schemes and movements of its friends and advocates. It is now in the field, and its influence pervades, and I must be allowed to say, controls, to a great extent, must be allowed to say, controls, to a great extent, both branches of Congress. And I should be gratified to know that the Executive Department was wholly emancipated from its influence. If it is not now, I hope the day is not distant when it

Mr. Chairman, the old Bank of the United States, with all its branches, and officers, and de-pendents, together with the immense wealth of the Rothschilds, would be an adversary quite insignificant and harmless, compared with the one which the friends of Free Soil now have to encounter. Some two hundred and fifty or three hundred thousand slaveholders have taken the field, controlling and wielding a capital which, it is said, amounts to sixteen hundred millions of dollars in personal property, and probably much more in real estate, animated by a common spirit and pursuing a common object, and that object, politi-cal power and influence.

Here, sir, is a moneyed aristocracy, possessing fearful, a dangerous influence, if exerted even in the holy cause of human freedom; but when turned to other purposes, and exerted as it now is, in making war upon human rights, and to extend and perpetuate the slavery of the African race in this country, it becomes an instrument whose pow-erto do mischief it is impossible to over-estimate; and no one can contemplate it without serious alarm and apprehension. I think, sir, it is time to arrest it while we have the power. The world has never before witnessed so formidable an ele-ment of discord and disunion in the bosom of any free Government. And the question, whether it shall be permitted to strengthen, extend, and forshall be permitted to strengthen, extend, and for-tify itself in the midst of us, becomes an intensely interesting one to those who have the power of deciding it. I cannot permit myself to doubt the result; and I cherish the hope, that when the hour of trial comes, the Representatives from the free States, following in this particular the ex-ample of those from the slave States, will be found united and acting together like a band of brothers. The enemies of slavery extension may surely forget party names and party distinctions whe its friends have set the example.

Mr. Chairman, if Southern gentlemen had been contented with meeting us in open and manly de-bate on the question of slavery extension into the free Territories of the United States, there would be no just cause of complaint. If they had re-frained from the use of any other but the ordinary with present advantages, her statemen sought for still greater; and not willing to act a subordinate part to which the minority is necessarily obliged to submit, at least according to the theory of republican institutions, they aspired to control the Administration, and shape the ends of Government.

I rained from the use of any other but the objects, no one could if you please, a resultage, are stringed, and that is, to secure a relage, a resultage and discondinate if you please, a cemetery for agitated and discondinate if you please, a cemetery for agitated and discondinate if you please, a cemetery for agitated and discondinate if you please, a cemetery for agitated and discondinate if you please, a cemetery for agitated and discondinate if you please, a cemetery for agitated and discondinate if you please, a cemetery for agitated and discondinate if you please, a cemetery for agitated and discondinate if you please, a cemetery for agitated and discondinate if you please, a cemetery for agitated and discondinate in the score of our delegated powers, we have no authority to act. And I am sure, sir, among the powers with which a confiding and generous constitutions, they aspired to control the Administration, and shape the ends of Government.

ciations and menaces have been artfully employ-ed, for no other purpose, it seems to me, than to influence not only the members of this House from the free States, but the action of Congress upon the free States, but the action of Congress upon questions pending before it. Some of the Southern States, perhaps a majority of them, have passed resolutions declaring if Congress abolishes slavery in this District, and prohibits it in the Terrifories, and presumes to do certain things which may not please them, they will resist its action "at any and every hazard." This is a brief method of declaring that they will commit treason and rebellion against the Government, if the maand rebellion against the Government, if the mo jority dares to disregard their wishes, or fails to comply with their demands Whether modesty or chivalry most predominates in such conduct, I must leave for others to determine. The extraordinary language of the member from North Carolina, [Mr. CLINGMAN,] in a speech upon this floor, is fresh in the recollection of every one, and though pains may have been taken to conceal or disguise his meaning, the allusion to a struggle that would not leave a quorum to do business in this Hall was well understood by those who heard him. And if any one entertain a doubt, it was soon removed by what was passing elsewhere. Not long after this and other violent speeches were made, a letter-writer from this city, who was understood to be in the confidence, if he did not speak the sentiments, of Southern men, under date of February 26, 1850, holds the following

language: (See the New York Herald of February 28, 1850:)

"We are on the very eve of bloodshed in the Capitol. There is no telling when its crimson streaks may deluge the halls of Congress. Without a moment's warning, civil strite and massicre may commence, for it will begin here. 'The first Washington. There is a fearful and an alarm ing state of things here, and when or where it will end, God alone knows. It is impossible for those at a distance to realize that their delegates in Congress are preparing for such scenes as have never been witnessed in our heretofore peaceable civil contests. The Southern members are excicivil contests. The Southern members are excited to the highest pitch. Men go armed, and are preparing for the contest and personal strife that will ensue before a week has passed. We are in the crisis so long and so justly dreaded, and M. nday next will be the day when the rupture will commence. The scene on last Monday week, day and night, will be repeated, but in a more frightful and tractic form. You will remember that ful and tragic form. You will remember that resolution day omes on Monday of every second week. Next Monday is a day all must dread, and wait with deep anxiety the horrible issue which will take place.

"The state of bad feeling which has existed

from the commencement of this Congress, between Northern and Southern members, is hourly ncreasing, and becoming more intense and alarm-ng. There is danger of an immediate rupture, and once commenced by bloodshed here, where will it end? It is revolution that we are starting upon—revolution in its most tremendous and dangerous form. It is a revolution of the Southern inority against the overbearing syranty of a majority—the worst form of tyranny which can exist. Collision between the members from the exist. Collision between the members from the Northern and Southern sections is inevitable. It is hoping against hope, to hope that it may not take place at once—immediately. The Northern members are playing on a volcano, which may open and pour out fire and flame before they dream of it. Personal conflicts will take place, they must do so, as sure as is the fact that hard words lead to bloom and the Southern meand to words lead to blows, and the Southern men do

not arm with deadly weapons without feeling that they are in danger and determined to use them." I might make further extracts from the same writer of similar import, and evidencing the same atrocious and blood-thirsty disposition; but this may serve as a fair specimen of the tone and tem-per displayed, and the arts of persuasion practiced by him and his friends. The lank and famished welf howling for his prey, and the tiger panting for blood, could not exhibit more savage ferocity; and the Northern man that does not take the hint, and conform his conduct to the wishes of these gentlemen, after such significant intimations of the consequences of disregarding them, must surely be presumptuous indeed, and wholly fail to consult his own welfare. But really, Mr. Chairman, I have not been able to discover that the announcement thus formally made, for purposes, no doubt, of intimidation, (for it could be made for no other,) that Southern men are armed with deadly wenpons, has produced other emo-tions than those of ineffable scorn and contempt. strengthen a country. They produce the most pernicious effects on manners. Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant. They bring the judgment of Heaven on a country. As nations cannot be rewarded or punished in the next world, but they do not probably happen at this time to be members of this House; at any rate, I hope not

from Ohio.

In this connection, allow me to notice another fact, and I view it as more dangerous, and there-fore of more importance, than any already men-tioned—I refer to the Nashville Convention, which assembles this day. Its object is exclusively sectional, and it aims to obliterate party distinctions, and to unite and strengthen the slave States in their efforts to extend slavery into the free territory acquired from Mexico. And as a remedy for the insupportable evils that will result from the failure of this scheme, they will, no doubt, recommend the preliminary steps for a dissolution of the Union. At any rate, this has been plainly intimated by its friends. But while defeat it, I am not willing to do them or their mo-tives injustice. Let one of the distinguished advocates of this Convention explain its object—(I quote from the speech of Colonel Trotti of Barnwell, South Carolina, delivered at a meeting convened to appoint delegates to the Nashville

"What that Convention will do is not for us to dictate. Our delegates should go untrammeled, and free to consult with the leading intellects tain and express an opinion as to what it should do. That Convention should say to the nonslaveholding States, the South will maintain her rights and 'equality' in the Union, or she will

ssolve it.
"What else is left for us to do? Can we rely on the Constitution? Why, the Constitution has long been utterly disregarded. You have over and over sgain seen it kicked out of both halls of Congress. The great and good men who achieved our independence have passed

part of Europe."

Now, sir, this is very plain language, and the orator seems to be animated by the same mild and conciliatory spirit that pervades his sectional friends in this Hall, and their mouth-piece, the be permitted, however, to observe, that the "Southern army" spoken of, which it is said might, but for a certain contingency, be commissioned to wisit this Capitol and disperse Congress, would be quite inoffensive and very apt to fail of its mission, if it should be as easily driven from this city as a similar one was in the year 1814, that abandoned the Capitol to be sacked and burned by a foreign enemy. But the chivalrous orator does not stop here, but goes on and discloses the real and ulterior designs contemplated by those who favor the Nashville Convention. He proceeds in this manner

"In what I have said I have had in contemplation the probability of the dissolution of the Union, and the foundation of a separate Southern Republic. I have not the slightest idea that the people of the non-slaveholding States will respect our rights, until they are made to feel our strength— our capacity for not only sustaining ourselves, but injuring them. And when they find themselves stripped of their commerce, their manufactures crippled, and their houses and lands sinking in value, then you may find greater efforts to put down abolition at the North than are now made to put down slavery at the South. If disunion comes, it would find the South better prepared to defend her institutions against the world, and, if she was still to continue in the Union, she would have acquired that power and influence which would cause her rights to be respected."

I have no fears, I am ready to admit, Mr-Chairman, of a dissolution of this Union; the fraternal ties that bind us together and make us fraternal ties that bind us together and make us one people cannot be sundered by the schemes of restless, ambitious, and unprincipled politicians. The great mass of the people in the South and in the North is in favor of the Union as it is; they have too long enjoyed and too highly appreciate its blessings, to run the fearful hazard of dissolution for the sake of accommodating distressed patriots in any section of the country. Powerful as the Nashville Convention may be for mischief, it cannot dissolve the Union. But there is one thing which I think it will not fail to accomplish, and that is, to secure a refuge, a resting-place, or, if you please, a cemetery for aguated and distracted politicians—that class of men who have been mainly instrumental in fomenting sectional

tutional right, and all the accumulated evils that have followed in its train; and to such also are we indebted for the discord that has reigned in this Hall, and the systematic neglect and abandonment of the public business, that has marked and signalized the present session of Congress. It only remains for us to perform the sad and mournful duty of inscribing appropriate epitaphs on their tembstones.

Therefore, and the accumulated evils that have membered to the would justify us in surrenderic an inch of free soil to slavery. And such a surrenderic to some of the great objects of the scheme of compromise now pending in the other end of this Capitol. I am opposed to it, and a large major, it of the American people, I have no death, rejudiate it. Slave States have been admitted into the Union, as a matter of course, and no factious opposition, which the love of freedom would seem to invite and would be ready to justify, was ever we indebted for the discord that has reigned in this Hall, and the systematic neglect and aban-doment of the public business, that has marked and signalized the present session of Congress. It only remains for us to perform the sad and mournful duty of inscribing appropriate epitaphs on their lembstones.

Threats of nullification, it will be remembered,

and open resistance to the laws of Congress, pro-ceeding from South Carolina, secured the pas-sage of the compromise act of March, 1833, by which the interests of free labor were offered up a sacrifice to those of slave labor. And now, sir, emboldened by former success to become more rapacious in her demands, the South threatens separation and dissolution, if the freedom of the Perritorise and the restriction of slavery are insisted upon. She wants a more extended market for her rapidly-increasing slave population; and would be much pleased with a few more hundred thousand square miles of the newly-acquired territory. The diffusion of slavery, in the opinion of General Cags, (and I suppose his political friends generally agree with him.) does not in-jure, but rather improves it. That is the argument in its favor. The North then yielded to the demands of

slavery, gave up her protective tariff, and con-sented, for the sake of composing the clamors of her adversaries, to sacrifice her pecuniary inter-ests. And it remains to be seen whether she will

ways marred the symmetry of our political system. It was always at war with every just principle of free government. We are not obliged to do it. And it was no part of our agreement with the slave States that we should do it, when the compact of Union was formed. There is no such covenant in the bond. It is surely enough for us, sir, in this particular, to perform our constitu-tional obligations. I am not willing to do more. An minent Senator from Massachusetts has spo-ken well and truthfully on this subject. I could wish, sir, that he had never spoken otherwise.

In 1848, in his speech on the loan bill, Mr.

Webster warned Congress and the people that
the Senate was slipping away from the great
body of the States, into the hands of men who

would make it an oligarchy. Said he.
"If a State proposes to come into the Union, and come in a slave State, then there is an augmentation of the inequality in the representa-tion of the people, which already exists—an ine-quality already existing, with which I do not quar-rel, and which I will neverattempt to alter, but shall preserve as long as I have a vote to give, or any voice in this Government; because it have part of the original compad. Let it stand. But then there is another consideration of vastly more then there is another consideration of vastly more general largertance even than that; more general because it affects all the Sates, free and slave-holding; and it is that, if States formed out of territories thus thinly populated, come into the Union, they necessarily, invitably break up the relation existing between the two branches of the Government, and destroy its balance. They break up the intended relation between the Senate and House of Representatives. If you bring in new States, any new State that comes in must have two Senators. She may come in with fifty or sixty thousand people. You may have from a particular State more Senators than you have Representatives. Can anything occur to disfigure and derange the form of Government under ure and derange the form of Government under which we live, more signally than that? Here would be a Senate bearing to proportion to the people, out of all relation to them, by the addi-tion of new States; from some of them only one Representative, perhaps, and two Senators; whereas the larger States may have ten, fifteen, or even thirty Representative, and but two Senators. The Senate added to, sugmented by these new Senators coming from States where there are few people, becomes an odous oligarchy. It holds power without any adequate constituency. Sir, it is but 'borough-mongering' upon a large scale."

Southern men have no just right to complein of

Southern men have no just right to complain of our opposition to the extension of slavery. The institution has always been at war with the rights of free labor, and the industrial and financial interests of the non-slaveholding States have more than once been stricken down by its remorseless jealousy, and changing and fitful policy. I can-not make up the record of its offences in my brief limits. Those who wish to become familiar with driven from the ocean, and end with the annexation of Texas, the Mexican war, and the Nash ville Convention. Revenue laws have been adopted and repeated with a wanton disregard of the free States, that admits of no palliation excuse whatever.

And the financial and monetary concerns of the

country have been subjected, under the influence of Southern counsels, to the series of oppressive and embarrassing operations and experiments, that seemed to be artfully contrived and executed to work the greatest amount of injury to the in-dustry of the free States. And under the disguise of being strict-constructionists, Southern statesmen, in the administration of the Govern-ment, have usurped and exercised powers not granted in the Constitution, and acquired immense tracts of country, and in the case of Texas an independent nation, for the purpose of en-larging the area of slavery, and increasing the profits of the infamous traffic in slaves. When hese were the objects to be accomplished, no the ories of strict construction, no constitutional in the way of their attainment. If some of these have been brought forward and consummated by the high-priests of a self-styled De-mocracy, it must be remembered that they were also the ministers of slavery; and if they offered incense upon the altars consecrated to liberty, it was only as a device to enable them more successfully to seduce and betray its worshippers.

And, sir, when the genius of history shall come make up the impartial record of the past, and to pencil the result upon her enduring tablets, I wish she could truthfully say, that one of the principal objects of the war of 1812 with Great Britain was not to strengthen the slave power. rather than to redress national wrongs, and secure its permanent ascendency in the administration The angry disputes and sectional jealousies that

now disturb the peace and harmony of the coun-try, and interrupt the friendly relations that ought lways to exist among us, all spring from the same always to exist among us, at spring from the came source and have the same common origin. They are the legacy which the authors of the Mexican war bequeathed to us in their efforts to subdue new regions to the dominion of slavery. A large majority of the American people are opposed to the further extension of the institution, and have made up their minds to confine it within its presmade up their minds to confine it within its present boundaries. The motto inscribed upon the glorious banner of this majority, under whose ample folds we are now struggling and are resolved to triumph, is, No more slave territory—no more slave States. I am enlisted in this service, and pledged, so far as my humble efforts go, to secure this result. And whatever the event may be, or whatever others may do, I am resolved faithfully and fearlessly to perform my duty But, Mr. Chatrman, I have been tempted into this digression, which has detained me too long, and from which I hasten to return, by the example of others. If the wholesome rules of proceeding which we have adopted were strictly enforced, and the arguments confined to the question propand the arguments confined to the question prop-erly before us, this debate, now continued for more than four months, would have been, long since, brought to a close, and California have now been a member of this Union. But the course pursued here is different, and it is not, I must confess, without its advantages. For if the stock of ideas which an honorable member has been industriously treasuring up for a Congressional speech upon the subject before the Committee happens to fail and become exhausted before the expiration of the hour, he is not obliged to take his seat, but may pass to any other topic, and thus fill up his time. As I have enjoyed, however, the benefit of the departure, in common with others, I will not complain of it.

The path of duty, it seems to me, is plain be-ore us. We should admit California at once and without delay. It would be no party, no sectional triumph. The various and complicated interests of this widely-extended country are suffering for the needful legislation. The business before us has been wholly arrested. We are now within a few days of the close of the current fiscal year, few days of the close of the current fiscal year, and the most important appropriations for the expenses of the Government are not yet reported to this House. Let us dismiss all the schemes of uniting California with any other subject, and making her admission dependent on the merits of other and distinct questions of legislation. Such a course would be unjustifiable and without precedent, and cannot fail of producing mischievous results. Slavery must not exact anything of us as an equivalent for the admission of a new State into the Confederacy. We have nothing to give. We have no compromises to make. We might, it is true, surrender our principles, if others were not interested in their preservation.

to invite, and would be ready to justify, was ever made to it. But a free State must be made to do homage to the "peculiar institution," and com-pelled to bear its burdens, after renouncing all

connection with it, before coming into the Union. The equilibrium, we are told, between the free and slave States must be preserved. But this, sir, cannot—it ought not to be done the days of our disgraceful submission and servitude to slavery are ended. We are resolved to render to it no more aids, or reliefs, or primer seisins, or submit to any other exaction to pur-chase or secure for California her constitutional rights as an independent State. The popular voice demands her instant and unconditional admission, and bids us cease our profitless discus-sions, and proceed with the public business, now so long and so rainously delayed. Let this be done—and I trust it will without delay—and sec-tional animosities, so fruitful of mischief, would no longer exist among us, and peace and harmony be again restored to our councils

LIBERTY ALMANAC FOR 1851. costs. And it remains to be seen whether she will now with the same facility, and for a similar purpose, surrender up her principles, and run the dreadful risk of all the future mischiefs of slavery-extension, for tamery submitting to its present requirements. For one, sir, 1 will not do in.

sentation; it was originally unjust, and has always marred the symmetry of our political system. It was always at war with every just principle of free government. We are not obliged to do it. And it was no part of our agreement with

Person.

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Aug 1—1m

BUCHANAN'S JOURNAL OF MAN, Edited and published by Dr. J. R. Buchanan, Professor of Physiology and Institutes of Medicine in the Eclectic Med ical Institute\* of Cincinnati.

ical Institute\* of Cincinnati.

THIS Journs is devoted to the entire science of man, and especially to recent and wonderful discoveries in Phrenology, Physiology, Psychology, and other anthropological sciences. Vol. 1, terminating in June, 1850, comprises 620 pages, and eight engravings—price \$2. Vol. 11, crammening in July, will be published in monthly numbers of 32 pages, at \$\frac{1}{2}\$ jer annum, in advance. The editor of this Journal is the original discoverer of the impressibility of the brain, and of many of its functions undiscovered by Gallor Spure.

his predecessors."

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in the rear of the institute, at the distance of one-hundred feet, are three other cottages, some eighty feet apart. One of these is the laundry, with a hydrant at the door; the other two are occupied by the servants.

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Gemuine Old Dr. Jacob Townsend's Sarsaparilla
is so prepared, that all the inert properties of the Sarsapa-

is so prepared, that all the inert properties of the Sarsapa-rilla root are first removed, everything capable of becoming acid or of fermentation is extracted and rejected; then every particle of medical virtue is secured in a pure and concen-trated form, and thus it is rendered incapable of losing sny of its valuable and healing properties. Prepared in this way, it is made the most powerful agent in the

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Compared with the Old Dr.'s, because of one Grand Fact, that the one is Incapable of De-terioration and

Never Spoils,
while the other does; it sours, ferments, and blows the butties containing it into fragments; the sour, acid itquid exploding and damaging other goods! Must not this herrible
compound be poisonous to the system? What! put a-id
into a system already diseased with acid! What causes dippepsis but acid? Do we not all know, that when food sours
in our stomachs, what mischlef it produces!—fatuler or,
heartburn, palpitation of the heart, liver complaint disrrhees,
dysen'ery, colic, and corruption of the blood! What is serofula but an acid humor in the body! What produces all the
humors which bring on eruptions of the skin, sauld hand, salt
rheum, crysipelas, white swelling, fever-cores, and all ulcerations, internal and external! It is nothing under heaven
but an acid substance, which sours and thus spoils all the
fluids of the body, more or less. What causes rheumatism
but a sour, acid fluid, which it simulates itself between the
joints and elsewhere, irritating and inflaming the tender and
delicate tissues upon which it scall No of nervous diseases,
of impurity of the blood, of deranged circulations, and nearly
all the alliments which sflict human nature.

Now, is it not horrible to make and soil, and infinitely
worse to use, this

Saurine, Eermenting, Acid "Compound" of S. P.

souring, Fermenting, Acid "Compound" Townsend! Souring, Ferncesting, Acid
Townsend!
and yet he would fain have it understood that Old Dr. Jacob
Townsend's Genuine Original Surveyarilla is an Imitation
of his inferior preparation!!
Heaven forbid that we should deal in an article which
Heaven forbid that we should deal on S. P. Townsend's

Heaven forbid that we should deal in an extending would bear the most distant resemblance to S. P. Townsend's article' and which should bring down upon the Old Pr. such a mountain load of complisints and crimination s from Agents who have sold, and purchasers who have used S. P. Townsend's Frementing Compound.

We wish it understood, because it is the absolute truth, We wish it understood, because it is the absolute truth, S. P. Townsend's article and Old Pr. Jacob Townsend's that S. P. Townsend's article and Old Pr. Jacob Townsend's that they are unlike in every particular, having not one single thing in common.

As S. P. Townsend is no doctor, and never was, is no chemist, no pharmaceutist—knows no more of medicine or disease than any other common, unceientific, unprofessioral man—what guarantes can the public have that they are receiving a semistic receiving in the professioral man—what guarantes can the public have that they are receiving a semistic receiving a the receiving as emistic receiving as the receiving as t